Photo by Gaffney

SOUTHERN INTEGRATION leaders pause at the entrance to the White House, on their way to deliver petitions asking President Kennedy to free Carl Braden from prison. Members of the delegation were (from left) Dr. Samuel Newman, Danville, Va.; The Rev. Fazal Masih, of India (who is visiting in Virginia and accompanied the group as an observer); James McBride Dabbs, South Carolina author; David Scull, Annandale, Va.; the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham; Dr. Oscar K. Rice, Chapel Hill, N.C.; Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore Area, Methodist Church; the Rev. Raymond Musser, Portsmouth, Va.; the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, chairman of the delegation; the Rev. Murray Cox, chairman, Mississippi Advisory Committee to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF executive director; Rabbi Emmet Frank, Alexandria, Va.; Louis L. Redding, Wilmington, Del.; W. Hale Thompson, Newport News, Va.; the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Montgomery, Ala., delegation spokesman; the Rev. William B. Abbot, Norfolk, Va.; Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, presiding bishop pro tem, AME Zion Church; Rabbi Herbert E. Drooz, Wilmington, Del.; and Donald Stephens, Arden, Del. (Story on page 3).

The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 19, No. 8

October, 1961

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Report on Monroe

(By Staff Correspondent)

MONROE, N.C.—When racial violence flared in this community at the end of summer, press reports became garbled and the sequence of events confusing to many people. These are the facts:

The background: Monroe, N.C., is a town of about 11,000 persons, almost one-third Negro, near the South Carolina border.

It is a town, like many semi-rural Southern communities, where white supremacy has reigned supreme, with unequal justice in the courts, recurring cases of brutality, and protective paternalism for Negroes who "stay in their place."

There are virtually no employment opportunities for Negroes, outside of domestic service, menial jobs, and sharecropping on surrounding farms. Negroes charge repeated discrimination in administration of public welfare and unemployment compensation.

This is an area where the Ku Klux Klan still meets openly and in recent years has drawn as many as 8000 persons to its rallies. It has been common practice for Klansmen to ride through the Negro sections on Saturday night, shooting at random.

Challenging this state of affairs for the past five years has been Robert Williams, young Negro, native of Monroe, who was drafted for the presidency of the Monroe NAACP branch in 1956.

Williams made national headlines in 1959 when he stated that Negroes must "meet violence with violence" and "force with force" in order to protect themselves, their families and their homes.

Since that time, he has maintained this position and, with the support of a sizeable number of Monroe Negroes, has admittedly encouraged the collection of arms in Monroe Negro homes.

In the furor that has followed, and in the condemnation of Williams for his statements about violence, the outside world has almost lost sight of the situation in Monroe that produced Robert Williams and his followers—and which will produce similar movements throughout the South, if changes are not made.

Recent events: It was in response to this fact that in the late summer a group of young believers in the philosophy of nonviolence decided to go to Monroe.

There were 17 of them, Negro and white, and they were Freedom Riders who had spent a good part of their summer in the Mississippi jails. Returning to Jackson on August 14 for the mass arraignment of all those arrested on Freedom Rides, they were filled with zeal to carry their witness to the hamlets of the South, and on their way home they stopped in Monroe.

During the summer, the situation in Monroe had become worse. Williams and his followers, who had been trying to get swimming facilities for Negroes for several years, had picketed Monroe's all-white pool earlier in the summer and had been attacked by mobs.

Twice during this period,

(Continued on Page 2)

Civil Liberties Workshop Set

SCEF will sponsor a conference and workshop on civil liberties Friday, October 27, in Chapel Hill, N.C. Discussion topics will include the First Amendment and its meaning in the South today, the House Un-American Activities Committee and its imitators in the states, and weapons to combat fear. Readers within easy traveling distance of Chapel Hill (the Carolinas and Virginia) are especially urged to save the date. Details will be mailed to you—or write SCEF, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans.

1954 Dream Deferred, but . . . .

One Stage of Struggle Is Ended

There are two ways to look at the progress toward school desegregation in this fall of 1961. One is from the vantage point of the tumultuous years of 1956-60. The other is from the vantage point of 1954.

When one compares 1961 with any other year since 1955, it is evident that history has been made, a victory has been won, and a phase of the struggle for school desegregation is now over.

The period of die-hard resistance in the large metropolitan and cosmopolitan areas of the South is at an end.

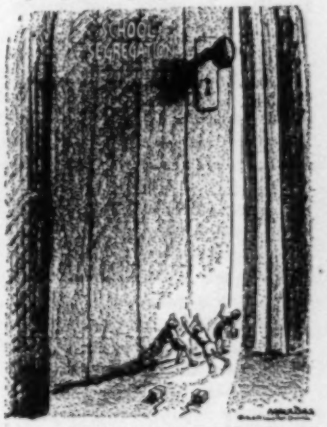
This September saw 27 school districts in the Southern and Border states desegregating for the first time, and it brought the quiet, even though minute, expansion of desegregation in several previously resistant areas.

It was the first autumn since 1954 when violence or shut schools had not dominated the front pages of September—except for 1959. And the quiet fall of 1959 is scarcely comparable with this one, since that year, while there was no violence, there was not much desegregation either.

This year was different. The desegregating spots included two major cities once considered strongholds of segregation—Atlanta and Dallas. In New Orleans, token desegregation was extended to four more schools, and all was quiet. Little Rock desegregated a third high school and four junior highs with dignity and decorum.

Eight of the newly-desegregated districts this year are in Virginia, bringing its total to 19. This is the state that was once considered the leader of massive resistance. (See other 1961 desegregation statistics on page 4.)

Three "Old South" states remained untouched by integration — Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina. But it is no longer possible to pigeon-hole things neatly by saying the "Border" and "Upper South" states are accepting desegregation, and the "Deep South" is holding out. Georgia and East Texas and Louisiana have been "Deep South" in their traditions too, and they have been cracked.



Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Inch by Inch

Rather, now the division seems to lie between acceptance in the great metropolitan centers and reluctance, and in some cases die-hard resistance, in the rural areas and smaller towns.

Actually, the hold-out states—Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina—have no very large cities, with the possible exception of Birmingham, which is not in any way cosmopolitan in the sense that Atlanta, Dallas, and New Orleans are.

The important fact is that community leadership in the South's cosmopolitan centers has accepted the proposition that some desegregation is inevitable and has made up its

(Continued on Page 4)

Review of the Month

The Interstate Commerce Commission issued an historic order, forbidding discrimination in all terminals used by interstate buses, as well as in the buses themselves, and providing stiff fines for violations. It was essentially a victory for the Freedom Riders.

Meantime, appeal trials of over 200 Riders ground on slowly, two-a-day, in Jackson, Miss., with routine convictions and sentences of four months in jail and $200 fines. A Mississippi judge thwarted a CORE move to get all Riders to return to jail and avoid appeal expense; the judge said appeals could not be withdrawn. Trials may last until spring.

The Civil Rights Commission recommended that Congress require all school boards to file desegregation plans within six months; the Commission also urged stronger laws guaranteeing the vote, including a law invalidating all state voter qualification tests except age, residence, and criminal conviction.

But prospects of new civil rights legislation in 1962 dimmed, as the Senate killed a move to change its filibuster rules.

Federal courts struck two major blows at the closing of schools to avoid integration: a Virginia judge ruled that Prince Edward County private white schools cannot receive state tuition grant money; a three-judge court in Louisiana threw out that state's local option law under which St. Helena Parish voted to close its schools. The judges said "this is not the moment in history for a state to experiment with ignorance."

And in Atlanta, moderation won as racial moderate Ivan Allen, Jr., defeated an extreme segregationist in the race for mayor.

J. W. Dobbs: Southern Giant

(By Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA, GA.—John Wesley Dobbs, SCEF board member and an outstanding leader in the civil rights struggle, died August 30. He was 79.

It was fitting that within the week of his death, Jim Crow died in Atlanta public schools. No one did more than he did to bring to pass that monumental event.

In the fight for full citizenship rights for Negroes, over the past 50 years, John Wesley Dobbs stands in that circle of Southern giants that includes Mary McLeod Bethune, Roscoe Dunjee, Lulu White, and Walter White, to name only a few.

For 29 years Mr. Dobbs was Grand Master of the Prince Hall Masons of Georgia. He was founder and president of the Georgia Voters League, and the Atlanta Civic & Welfare League, a former vice-chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, a national vice-president of the NAACP, former trustee of the First Congregational Church, a director of Citizens Trust Co.

Born on a farm near Marietta, Ga., he sometimes pointed out that he "missed slavery by just 17 years". He attended elementary school in Savannah and graduated from the academy of Morehouse College. For 32 years he served as a railway postal clerk.

He was married to the former Irene Thompson. They had 6 daughters and an adopted son. All 6 of his daughters graduated with honors from Spelman College and went on to take graduate degrees. One daughter, Mattiwilda Dobbs Janzon, is a Metropolitan Opera star living in Stockholm, Sweden.

(Continued on Page 4)

John Wesley Dobbs

The Southern Patriot

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Book Notes

THE BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA, by C. ERIC LINCOLN, Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass., $4.95.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, has said: "The NAACP opposes and regards as dangerous any group white or black, political or religious, that preaches hatred among men. Hatred destroys men—the haters and the hated."

Nevertheless, the Black Muslims are a rising force to be reckoned with—the fruit of the segregationist's seeds.

Dr. Lincoln's book is both enlightening and a warning to all who have mouthed the Christian phrases but refused to live them.

He discusses the history and progress of the Black Muslims in America, their accomplishments, their aims and their timely warning to the sleeping moderate. Lincoln says:

"The young Negroes who are now flocking to the Black Muslims are dissidents, who know only how to hate because they have been surrounded by the symbols of hate all their lives long."

However, much can be learned from their amazingly successful rehabilitation of the criminal and the fact that juvenile delinquency is a rarity in their group. Their leader, Elijah Muhammad, is very strict and makes them promise not to drink, smoke, gamble, etc. They are asked to patronize only Negro businesses and to save money and have businesses of their own.

Their embracement of the Muslim faith and their rejection of Christianity stems from the fact that they have rarely seen it in action: the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

However, they have only a pseudo-Muslim religion for true Muslims also believe that all men are brothers, whereas those in this movement reject the white man and wish his annihilation, considering black men superior in all ways, and want a nation of their own.

The author closes with these pertinent words: "There is among American Negroes an increasing hostility for the white man—a hostility born of despair. It is hard to wait until tomorrow for what everyone else has today, especialy in an atomic age, when tomorrow may never arrive.

". . . . They (the Muslims) will continue to expand as long as racial tension is permitted to flourish in America . . . . The meaning for America is clear. We must attack the disease, not its symptoms. We must confront the issue of racism and discrimination. When we have done so with the determination and moral conviction so brutal a problem deserves, there will be no Black Muslins. There will be no need for them and America will be a better place for all."

—DOROTHY JOHNSON

Williams Is Ill

MONTGOMERY, Ala — SCEF President Aubrey Williams last month underwent major surgery. It was his second major operation in the past two years. He is recovering, but his convalescence is necessarily slow. For those who wish to write him, his home address is 7 Hazel Hedge, Montgomery, Ala.

New Periodical

Author Shirley Graham is editing a new and thought-provoking periodical entitled Freedomways, which describes itself as a "quarterly review of the Negro freedom movement." Miss Graham says the purpose is to "provide a public forum for review, examination and debate of all problems confronting Negroes in the United States." The magazine hopes to provide a "medium of expression for serious and talented writers." It invites literary contributions — and subscribers. Price: $3.50 a year. Address: 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

Trends in Brief

New Campaign in Mississippi

Representatives of the Southwide Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have launched a drive for voter registration and civil rights in one of the most backward areas of Mississippi.

It is Pike County and three surrounding counties where Negro registration has been virtually nil. Center of the new movement is McComb. SNCC representatives and local students have been arrested and some physically attacked, but the drive continues.

* * * *

In Jacksonville, Fla., the NAACP Youth Council has started a drive against discriminatory employment practices. They are picketing firms which discriminate.

* * * *

An all-out drive against housing discrimination was planned by CORE at its annual meeting, which also announced stepped-up action in other areas of segregation.

* * * *

In Lynchburg, Va., Miss Barbara Thomas, Virginia Seminary and College student who served a 30-day jail term for sitting in last year, was notified that the college would not allow her to enroll this year. The same college dropped from its faculty the Rev. Virgil Wood, civil rights leader and president of the Lynchburg Improvement Association.

* * * *

In Jackson, Miss., fifteen Negro and white Episcopal clergymen, like 300 Freedom Riders before them, received four-month jail sentences for attempting to eat together. They were part of an anti - segregation "prayer pilgrimage" sponsored by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

* * * *

In Alabama, nine men have been indicted by a Federal grand jury on charges of burning the first Freedom Ride bus in Anniston, Ala.

Music Tells the Story

We Shall Overcome, LP Recording, by Guy Carawan, Folkways Records, 121 W. 47th St., New York, N. Y., $3.

Guy Carawan

You can learn more about the spirit of the Southern student movement from this record than you could from 100 books.

All of the songs that have inspired the students on the picket-lines and in the jails are here—"We Shall Overcome," "We Shall Not Be Moved," "Oh, Freedom," and many others, Spirituals, old songs, new songs.

They are sung by Guy Carawan, the folk singer who infused the current movement with music, and by the Montgomery Trio and the Nashville quartet—all students themselves, who have been steeled in the jails to lend a serious movement and yet have retained the ability to laugh and sing.

The Crisis in Monroe, N. C. . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

Williams said he was forced off the road in his car; once his car was surrounded by a mob, which he said dispersed only because he had a gun. Both times, he said, police or highway patrolmen were within sight but did nothing.

After that, the city closed the swimming pool, but incidents of shootings by white hoodlums in the Negro community and other attacks on Negroes continued.

Williams declared that in every instance he made proper complaints to all agencies of authority—local, state, and federal—but nothing was done. He said the Monroe police even refused to record his complaints, and when news reporters inquired about them, authorities told them nothing had happened.

The Freedom Riders who went to Monroe felt that it was not enough for the nonviolent movement to deplore from a distance the fact that Williams felt it necessary to protect himself with guns. They felt that those who believed in the nonviolent way should put their lives on the line at the scene—in protest against the conditions that produced Williams.

As William Mahoney, 19-year-old student at Howard University, said: "If the fight for civil rights is to continue to use nonviolence, we must be successful here."

He added: "We believe it is essential that passive resistance succeed in bringing about a just community instead of the violence of two armed camps in this crisis, for what happens here will determine the course taken in many other communities throughout the South."

Joseph MacDonald, who had previously been beaten in Nashville on a picketline protesting discriminatory hiring there, said: "I want to help institute a nonviolent movement to break down barriers of segregation and bring the 14th Amendment to Monroe."

Two "emissaries" from the nonviolent movement had been to Monroe earlier in the summer and Williams had said he would like for the Freedom Riders to come. When they arrived, he welcomed them.

He was careful to keep himself removed from their activities, in the hope, he said, that their own different approach would be kept separate and clear in the public mind (a hope that turned out to be futile, since the distinction became completely blurred in the press reports of the violence that later erupted).

But he opened the pages of his paper, *The Crusader*, for them to explain their own philosophy, and he said he hoped it would succeed in Monroe.

Some of those who came saw the Monroe project as an experiment that might well be extended to other Southern communities another summer. James Forman, of Chicago, said:

"We were hoping that a pattern could be set whereby teams of 10 or 12 young people could spend their summers in Southern rural communities, attempting to develop nonviolent movements for justice—holding workshops and participating with local people in nonviolent action.

"We feel that nonviolence has succeeded at the lunch counters in the cities. But what about the Negro in the small town who does not have the money to go to the lunch counter? We hope nonviolence can offer an answer to the economic problems of lower-class Negroes."

The Freedom Riders interested some Monroe Negroes in their idea, and a Monroe Nonviolent Action Committee was organized, with four objectives: (1) equal protection under the laws, (2) a change in the policy of the local Industrial Development Commission, which it said brings new industries to Monroe with tax money but sanctions discriminatory hiring; (3) an overhaul of welfare Department procedures, where it is charged that destitute Negroes have been deprived of relief; and (4) recreational facilities for Negroes.

Members approached the Industrial Development Commission, and they agreed to negotiate. The Committee also conferred with welfare officials, and made some progress.

They began testing eating facilities and were served at one drug store. And they set up a picketline around the courthouse urging equal law enforcement.

That was the week of August 21. Several pickets were arrested on minor charges, but for the most part things were relatively quiet at first.

On the weekend, hostile crowds gathered around the court house. On Saturday, some of the pickets were attacked as they left the line. By Sunday, the crowds reached the proportions of a mob. When police did not disperse them, local Negroes came in cars

(Continued on Page 3)

Subscription Blank

The Patriot is sent to all persons who give $2 or more annually to the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

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From the Patriot Mailbag

Mrs. Charles Koppel, Seattle, Wash., writes: ". . . . Maybe some nucleus could be formed in this area by a get-together of the subscribers of the Southern Patriot. . . . Readers in other remote areas may be interested in this idea also. . ."

(Editor's Note: If any of you are, let us know and we'll help you contact other subscribers in your area.)

Miss Joann Worden, age 15, Cedar Grove, N. J., writes: "There is one thought a friend of mine and I have. Why not build a peace corps for teen-agers. . . . We think it should consist of Negroes and whites from the North and South, and people from each religion. I am almost positive that we could do some good. . . . Maybe one reason I am so interested in helping is because I spent the first years of my life in the South and I don't want to see it go to pot. . . ."

HUAC Criticized as...

(By Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Petitions signed by nearly 2,000 leaders in the field of human rights across the nation have been presented at the White House, asking President Kennedy to free Carl Braden from prison.

The petitions were presented by a delegation of 18 Southern integration leaders, Negro and white, led by the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy of Montgomery was spokesman. (See picture of entire delegation on page 1.)

The delegation conferred for over two hours with Presidential assistants Harris Wofford and Lee White. After a formal statement by Mr. Abernathy, other delegation members expressed their own concern over the case.

They said later that the Presidential assistants received them with courtesy and promised to convey their expressions immediately to the President. Mr. Walker told the White House representatives that the 2,000 leadership signatures represented only the beginning of a massive clemency campaign planned for Braden in the fall.

Drive Continues

All patriot subscribers have been mailed copies of the Braden clemency petition. You are urged to circulate them for more signatures and to distribute the revised version of SCEF's pamphlet on civil liberties, "My Beliefs and Associations are None of the Business of this Committee."

Text of Abernathy Statement

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy's statement at the White House said in part:

"We have joined together here today, not only out of our concern as to what has happened to Mr. Braden; we are here also because we are concerned about what is happening to America.

"The jailing of Carl Braden and the persecution of other white people in the South involved in the integration struggle, serves only as a device to silence the voices of the white liberals. . . .

"We seek the release of Mr. Braden . . . because we sincerely feel that the one-year term he is now serving is a direct result of his identity with the fight for integration. More specifically, he serves this sentence as a result of a contempt of Congress citation administered by the House Un-American Activities Committee, a committee most appropriately named.

"From its inception, this committee and its architects have been destructive of that for which America was born. . . .

"The only crime he (Braden) has committed is his unswerving loyalty to his conscience and to the spirit of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. . . ."

. . . Southern Committees Active

(From Patriot Correspondents)

Soon after Southern integration leaders told White House representatives of the threat to the integration movement by investigations of the Un-American Activities Committee type, (See story at left), their contentions were verified by new developments in the South.

In at least two states, legislative committees similar to the House Committee in method and purpose, made new attacks on integrationists.

The Virginia Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice sent agents to the offices of three civil rights attorneys in Norfolk and demanded records dealing with state and regional integration groups they had represented in court.

The attorneys—Len Holt, Ed Dawley, and Joe Jordan—met them with a clear First Amendment stand. They politely told them to "get out," and later wrote the Committee.

"You . . . . failed in your attempt to intimidate us and those whom we serve. You and your agents are forbidden to ever again enter our law office. In the best American traditions of freedom, we defy you."

There were reports that Committee representatives were making similar visits to other integrationist leaders in the state. The Virginia Committee, known informally as the Boatwright Committee, has investigated the NAACP and other liberal groups.

Meanwhile, segregationist legislators in Texas failed in a perennial effort to set up a little Un-American Activities Committee in that state, but some of them got their blows in anyway in a report issued in late summer by a House General Investigating Committee.

The report, widely publicized in Texas, charged that "racial agitation" in Texas is directed by persons "taking order from Moscow," and that "the conspiracy behind the sit-ins and racial agitation exists not only on a national scale but reaches straight to Africa and Russia. . . ."

The Texas Observer, liberal weekly, commented on this: "The report stops short of details in support of such allegations."

The Committee report also charged the NAACP with violating a 1957 injunction from a Texas judge forbidding it to "encourage or finance" lawsuits "in which it has no direct interest."

A Paradox in Alabama

(By Special Correspondent)

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—In the paradox of the year, one bright spot in the struggle against witch-hunting was—of all places—Alabama.

There a bill to establish a state Un-American Actvities Committee failed to pass the Legislature.

After the Freedom Rides, the bill was pushed by legislators who said the Rides proved that "the menace of Communism is here and now."

Unfortunately, it cannot be said that a majority opposed the bill. It passed the House, 80-13, and would have probably passed the Senate if it had come to a vote; but ardent opposition developed, and it never reached the Senate floor.

During House debate, one legislator called it "the most dangerous piece of legislation I've ever seen . . . . this would be a pure witch hunt." Another said the bill was a "sham and a shame," and another said: "Let's not rush off on the hot scent of Communism and in so doing surrender any rights of individual freedom."

One liberal and perhaps provincial Alabamian commented: "They talk about Alabama, but you see we have our tradition of freedom too. I wish I could hear more congressmen in Washington saying things like this when the vote on the House Un-American Activities Committee comes up. All we've been able to muster there is six votes against the Committee. This state is bad, but don't forget there's another tradition here too—the one that produced Justice Black."

How True!

AUSTIN, Tex.—Supporting the bill to establish a Texas Un-American Activities Committee, one legislator deplored the growing opposition to the Congressional one and said: "I'd like to see one in every state; attacks on 50 could not be so effective as on one."

. . . . Nonviolent Movement Seeks Answer

(Continued from Page 2)

to take the pickets to safety.

According to Len Holt, Norfolk attorney who with William Kuntsler of New York later represented the pickets in court, trouble started when a white picket, Constance Lever, of England, started to get in a car with several Negroes.

Holt said a nearby policeman apparently resented this and told her not to get in. Then the policeman saw a gun in the car and called out, "They've got guns." The mob immediately rushed toward the car.

Holt said it was reported that the policeman handed the gun to a man in the crowd; the policeman later denied this, but witnesses said the man held the gun on Forman threatening to kill him. Forman said he repeatedly but futilely asked police to take the gun away from the man.

At that point, according to Constance Lever, "the mob saw one of their number pointing a gun at us unhindered, and then they really became out of control and closed in on us."

The picketers then demanded that they be taken to the police station for protection, and police agreed. As Forman got in a car, he was struck on the head with the gun; police ignored his request to arrest his assailant, he said.

After the pickets had been at the police station for a while, they were told they were placed under arrest for "inciting a riot." They were held incommunicado until Tuesday.

Meantime, disorders continued that Sunday night throughout the town, with roving bands of whites attacking Negroes unconnected with the demonstrations.

It was during this period that a policeman was shot in the hip; press reports gave the impression that this happened during the attack on the pickets, but actually they were at the police station when the shooting occurred elsewhere.

Meantime also, rumors reached the Negro community that those in jail were being mistreated; shots were fired near Williams' home; Negroes began gathering there expecting a major attack.

In this period, someone (it has not been established who) stopped a white couple, Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Stegall, who happened to be passing the Negro section, and took them to Williams' house. There they were held for several hours.

On the following day, a local grand jury indicted Williams on charges of kidnapping the couple. By then, he and his family had left town and in mid-September had not been found.

Meanwhile, four other persons — three Negroes and a white Freedom Rider—were indicted as "accessories" to the alleged kidnapping. One Negro was not immediately apprehended, but the other three persons were held without bond.

The facts on the alleged kidnapping are not all in; no evidence has been presented. It should be noted, however, that Mrs. Stegall told the press that Williams rebuked the persons who brought her and her husband to his house and told her he was keeping them there for fear they would be hurt by the crowd of Negroes outside.

The kidnapping charge is apparently based on a statement by the Monroe police chief that Williams called him and said the Stegalls would be released if the arrested picketers were turned loose, but this alleged telephone call has not been corroborated.

The connection, if any, of the four others charged in the kidnapping has not been established. But a statement by the accused Freedom Rider, John Lowry, when he first came to Monroe, may be pertinent. He said:

"We are all dedicated to the theory and practice of nonviolence . . . The people here are desperate; they have banded together under the leadership of Mr. Williams to protect themselves against the prejudiced actions of the white racists who are in control . . . I hope that I can be of some help in bringing the nonviolent movement to Monroe . . ."

The 22 pickets arrested on August 27 were at first held under $1100 bond, but this was later reduced to $25. A few days later, they were tried and convicted, but sentences were suspended when they agreed to cease demonstrations. The Freedom Riders left town.

What does it all mean? Certainly, all moral arguments aside, the approach of "meeting violence with violence" has not been successful in bringing justice to Monroe.

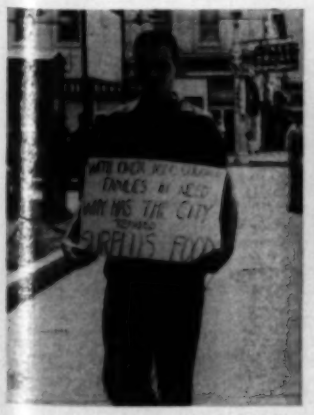
Neither can it be said at this moment that nonviolence has succeeded in that objective either — although it might be added that it has hardly yet been given a full and fair trial.

The young people who went to Monroe, incidentally, don't feel that they failed. They believe they planted seeds that will grow. As James Forman said:

"Our objective was to activate local people. As we left, people who had been inactive told us, 'We're going to do something now. We are going to get to work.'"

The most urgent need, the Freedom Riders say, is for concerned citizens everywhere to insist that the Federal government act to see that law is enforced equally in places like Monroe. "The problem is not the mobs," Forman said; "it's police who won't control the mob."

One thing is certain: the Monroe incidents dramatize the tremendous job that faces the integration movement in the backward rural areas of the South. From somewhere there must come some creative answers, and the Freedom Riders at least made a start at trying to provide them.



—Griswold Photos

PICKETING THE COURT HOUSE IN MONROE

Protests Firing

SAVANNAH, Ga.—Wide protests are developing over the discharge of Georgia NAACP President W. W. Law from his job as letter carrier here. The NAACP charges he was dismissed for his integration leadership.

'Even in Birmingham, A Light'

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—A Federal judge here has ruled unconstitutional an ordinance which forbade whites and Negroes to play together any game—baseball, dominoes, checkers, and many others. The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth described the ordinance as the "backbone of Birmingham segregation" and noted that it was the first time a local Federal judge had so ruled on segregation without a higher court order. "Even here, the morning light appears," said Shuttlesworth.